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BRINGING MEN BACK IN: A COMPARISON OF HUSBAND/WIFE VALUES TOWARDS MALE ROLES

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Introduction

Some twenty years ago, the title of the Presidential Adress of the American Sociological Association was "Bringing Men Back In." "Men" referred to individuals. Not so in this paper. As David and Brannon (1976) note, despite a burgeoning literature on sex roles, little is known about the male sex role. This paper focusses specifically on male sex role attitudes of husbands and wives.

For the sake of clarity, the main points of this paper can be stated in the form of the following propositions:

1. The constellation proposition. There exists a connected set of orientations towards male sex roles that might be called 'feminine' orientations. The test for this hypothesis would be positive intercorrelations among those items that reflect these orientations.
2. The gender difference proposition. There is a consistent gender difference in these orientations. This hypothesis would be supported to the extent that the mean score for wives on these issues is significantly more feminine than for husbands.
3. The social determinants propositions. The "vanguard" of the feminine orientations are young, educated, employed females. In a series of bivariate tables, the young, the educated and the employed should endorse each of the feminine orientations more than their opposites (the older, less educated and non-employed).

4. The spousal impact proposition. Husbands and wives exert a net influence on each other's orientations. An acceptable test would be to enter spouse's sex role attitude as a predictor variable after the social determinants such as age and education have been entered into a multiple regression equation and obtaining a significant slope for spouse's attitude.
5. The social class moderator proposition. Middle class husbands and wives influence each other more than working class husbands and wives. This would manifest itself in a significantly higher slope for the effect of spouse's response among middle class than among working class couples.

The rationales for these propositions are provided in the following review of the literature.

Literature Review

Most scholars of sex roles assume the existence of a more or less cohesive constellation of sex role values. The empirical work on this topic is nevertheless limited. What empirical work is done focusses primarily on personality self-descriptions, such as the work on androgyny stimulated by Bem (1974). The summation procedure used in her sex role inventory presupposes the existence of 'masculine' and 'feminine' poles.

Most of the work on gender difference is likewise limited

to masculine and feminine personality components. This literature generally supports the proposition that females are more likely to see themselves as possessing feminine traits than are males. Although overstated by David and Brannon (1976: 3), their subtitle to Chapter 1, "The Stigma of Anything Vaguely Feminine," captures the gender difference proposition. Kulik and Harackiewicz (1979) provide indirect evidence for the gender difference proposition. They found that females consistently preferred androgynous partners, whereas males preferred sex-typed partners for romantic involvement. Emihovich et al (1984) argue that it is particularly difficult for men to take on more feminine behaviors since these are still met with disapproval and are judged deviant or undesirable. On the basis of their study they conclude that fathers still hold "very traditional sex role expectations (p.21)."

The literature on recent social movements supports the proposition that the vanguard of such movements are the young and the educated. The civil rights movement in the United States would be just one example. Sympathy with the feminist movement, and adoption of congruent values is likely to have the same social determinants, with the addition of gender to age and education. Emihovich et al (1984) report a significant age effect for fathers. Blumenthal (1972) found that support for the social use of violence, which is one aspect of male sex role behavior, decreases with education. There is also reason to predict that employment outside the home, with its concomitant

exposure to non-traditional forms of behavior, should be a social determinant.

The proposition that husbands and wives influence each other's attitudes, values and behaviors is a truism consistent with all theoretical paradigms. Berger and Kellner (1964) for example, view marriage as the process of creating and upholding a shared reality. Fortunately, this truism is empirically supported in that there are invariably positive correlations between husband and wife responses to various attitudinal and value questions. What is variable is the magnitude of the correlations. To move beyond the truism, two questions need to be explored: (1) how influential is the spouse relative to other theoretically important forces shaping the attitudes under investigation, and (2) under what conditions does the spouse have a greater impact. These two questions have received little systematic investigation.

The social class moderator proposition is one specific example of the second question asked above. Previous unpublished work by Thiessen (1984) suggested that social class is an important moderator on a number of attitudinal issues. In a different context, Smith and Self (1980) found that college-educated mothers had a significant impact on the daughter's sex-role attitudes, but not so among mothers with less education. They suggest that this interaction effect, analogous to the social class moderator postulated here, could be due to the frequency and style of communication differences

in the two groups. We suspect that there are indeed major differences in the "style" of marriage between working class and middle class. The middle class style is one where a united front is likely to be considered more desirable.

The data and measurements

This is a secondary analysis of data from the 1980 Edmonton Area Survey.[1] A subset of the overall sample included information on 179 heads of households and their spouses. This data set is particularly appropriate for a number of reasons. First, it contains the responses of both husbands and wives. This redresses somewhat the legitimate concerns of family sociologists such as Safilios-Rothschild (1969) that family sociology is really "wives' family sociology." Secondly, as Eichler (1983) has pointed out, false interpretations of the meaning of responses to questionnaires remain plausible unless the responses of both partners in a relationship are obtained and compared. Thirdly, there is a paucity of data concerning attitudes of both genders towards men's behavior. There has been a tendency to focus on women's roles.

The relevant characteristics of the sample are as follows: the median age of husbands is 36, with less than 7 percent post retirement. About one in five husbands did not complete high school, one in three completed high school and the remainder had some education beyond high school. The educational level of the wives is less than that of the husbands, with one in three not completing high school and an additional third completing high

school. Only 16 percent of the husbands identified with the working class, about the same felt there were no such things as classes and the remainder identified with the middle classes. Lower and upper class identification did not occur (except for one case) in this sample. The median gross family income was approximately $26,000, with a median contribution of $4,500 by the wife. Over half the wives (54%) were employed at the time of the interview, with two out of three of the employed wives holding a full-time job. Consistent with the high incomes are the occupations of the husbands. Some 28 percent were professionals or high-level management, and only one in five was semi-skilled or unskilled. In terms of ethnicity, fully half the males considered themselves Canadian and another 20 percent British. No other ethnic group was stated in sufficient numbers to permit analysis.

The questions asked of both husband and wife which are of primary concern in this paper are the following:

1. If a man's wife or girlfriend is insulted by someone, he should always come to her defense, even if it means fighting.

2. Men who don't like competitive sports, such as football or hockey, are lacking in masculinity.

3. A husband should be entirely responsible for earning the living for a family (under ordinary circumstances).

4. It is more important that a husband is ambitious than that he is kind and understanding.

5. Whenever possible, a man should avoid having to

work for a woman.

6. The man should take the initiative in expressing physical affection.

7. Men shouldn't be ashamed of crying in front of others.

8. It's O.K. for men to show physical affection towards other men, such as hugging them.

9. In a marriage, it is just as much a man's responsibility as its a woman's, to care for children.

The first six items are one which we would expect women to reject, whereas the last three we would expect them to endorse. These issues, individually and collectively, form the "dependent variables."

Findings

The constellation proposition The first hypothesis is that the intercorrelations of the above nine items should be consistent in the direction that a 'feminine' response on one item increases the likelihood of a 'feminine' response on each of the other items. Table 1 provides the Pearson correlations separately for both husbands and wives. The results support the contention that there is a constellation of feminine values and that such a constellation is "loose." Of the 64 correlation coefficients in this table, 60 are in the predicted direction. The four exceptions are trivial in the sense that the largest of them is only .03. The adjective "loose" is appropriate since the largest correlation is .41.

The fact that there is a "syndrome" or "constellation" of

attitudes, but that it is a loose one, creates a dilemma between parsimony and accuracy. To the extent there is a constellation, it would be parsimonious to create an overall scale. To the extent the constellation is loose (i.e., there is more than one underlying dimension, as suggested by the plurality of pairs of adjectives given above), the results of using such a scale are potentially inaccurate and misleading. The solution to this dilemma in this paper is to analyze both the scale scores and the individual items composing the scale. Where the analysis of the individual items reveals that conclusions based on the scale scores are misleading, they will be reported. Likert-type scales were created for these items. Cronbach's alpha, a measure of internal consistency, was .65 and .72 for husbands and wives respectively. As expected these reliabilities are not high, but for the sake of parsimony they are respectable enough to treat the items as forming a scale.

The connections among the items are not so much theoretically determined ones as historical accidents. That is, which issues are part of the domain of feminine values depends more on what specific issues are stressed by popular writers in this area than on logical or theoretical relatedness to the issues. All nine issues used here seem to be part of the domain at this particular time. The item analysis revealed that none of the items was a particularly poor one.

A variety of factor analyses confirmed that these items were multi-dimensional with two factors extracted for the

TABLE I

INTERCORRELATION OF MEN'S ROLE ITEMS

(wive's correlation above the diagonal; husband's below; the correlation of husband's reaponse with wife's is on the diagonal)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	.16	.33	.26	.11	.29	.36	.02	-.30	-.12
2	.09	.25	.24	.34	.17	.41	-.14	-.26	-.04
3	.12	.12	.33	.27	.21	.40	.03	-.14	-.02
4	.08	.23	.20	.35	.31	.37	-16	-.18	-.13
5	.17	.29	.20	.30	.30	.39	-.32	-.24	-.22
6	.15	.31	.18	.38	.35	--	.01	-.16	-.09
7	-.04	-.15	.01	-.24	-.16	-.10	.19	.35	.13
8	-.02	-.16	-.19	-.09	-.21	-.29	.33	.42	.09
9	-.04	-.13	-.16	-.03	-.18	-.14	.32	.04	.25

* The items and the scoring procedures ar those given in Table 2.

TABLE 2: Differences of means between husbands and wives on attitude towards male behaviors[1]

	Xh	Xw	D
1. If a man's wife or girlfriend is insulted by someone, he should always come to her defense, even if it means fighting.	4.74	3.91	.83*
2. Men who don't like competitive sports, such as football or hockey, are lacking in masculinity.	2.25	1.87	.38*
3. A husband should be entirely responsible for earning the living for a family (under ordinary circumstances).	5.29	4.45	.84*
4. It is more important that a husband is ambitious than that he is kind and understanding.	2.88	2.40	.49*
5. Whenever possible, a man should avoid having to work for a woman.	2.67	2.33	.34*
6. The man should take the initiative in expressing physical affection.	3.84	3.51	.33*
7. Men shouldn't be ashamed of crying in in front of others.	5.22	5.74	-.52*
8. It's O.K. for men to show physical affection towards other men, such as hugging them.	4.06	4.74	-.69*
9. In a marriage, it is just as much a man's responsibility as its a woman's, to care for children.	6.12	6.28	-.16

[1] All items were scored on a seven-point Likert scale where 1 = strongly disagree and 7 = strongly agree.

* $p < .05$, based on two-tailed correlated differencces of means tests. The number of husband-wife pairs ranged from 171 to 178.

husband's responses and three for the wive's. The extracted factors were not particularly informative for the topic at hand.

The gender difference proposition

The second hypothesis is that there is a gender difference on these issues. Information relevant to this hypothesis is contained in Table 2. Mean scores for husbands and wives on the nine issues is given. On the whole, this table supports the assertion that attitudes towards male behaviors are gender based. First, on every issue save one, wives on the average scored on the "feminine" side of the mid-point. The one exception concerns whether a husband should, under ordinary circumstances, bear the entire responsibility for earning the family living. Secondly, on every issue the husbands lag behind; on eight of the nine issues, the difference is statistically significant. There is little variance on whether it is also a husband's responsibility to care for the children; both husbands and wives endorse this. Hence there is no significant gender difference on this issue. But note that despite the lag, husbands mean score is also on the feminine side of the mid-point. It thus appears, that for these issues at least, that Edmontonian husbands and wives both accept the feminine values. Wives simply endorse them more.

The figures in Table 2 deal only with averages. These mask the variations of orientations that husbands and wives as couples have to these issues. One way of looking at the

variation is to ask how often the husband accepts the feminine orientations more so than his wife versus less so than his wife. These figures are presented in Table 3. Here we see that on every item, between about a fifth and a quarter of the couples are ones where the husband endorses the feminine viewpoint more so than his wife. There are no issues on which the husband is particularly more likely than his wife to endorse the feminine viewpoint. Overall, about one-quarter of the husbands exceeded their wives' feminine point of view. This may be an indication of transition with both genders wrestling with these issues. Some females remain traditional and some males become less so.

The social determinants proposition

For this section a series of analyses of variances were calculated in which the effect of each of the independent variables on each of the individual items could be assessed. In this manner, gross departures from non-linearity would be detected. In addition, this makes it possible to determine which of the male sex role issues are affected. For brevity's sake, these numerous tables will not be included[2]. Instead, the main points will be reported.

As might be expected, age is strongly related to these issues. In general, the youngest endorse the feminine point of view the most, and the oldest the least. The effect is strongest on husband being the breadwinner and for men initiating affection, then on men showing affection to other men

TABLE 3: Percent of husbands more likely, equally likely, and less likely than their wives to endorse 'feminine' orientations.

	H>W	H=W	H<W
1. If a man's wife or girlfriend is insulted by someone, he should always come to her defense, even if it means fighting.	27.6	40.1	32.3
2. Men who don't like competitive sports, such as football or hockey, are lacking in masculinity.	21.0	42.0	37.0
3. A husband should be entirely responsible for earning the living for a family (under ordinary circumstances).	24.7	23.0	52.3
4. It is more important that a husband is ambitious than that he is kind and understanding.	22.7	32.0	45.3
5. Whenever possible, a man should avoid having to work for a woman.	26.3	35.1	38.6
6. The man should take the initiative in expressing physical affection.	27.0	31.0	42.0
7. Men shouldn't be ashamed of crying in front of others.	21.5	32.6	45.9
8. It's O.K. for men to show physical affection towards other men, such as hugging them.	25.0	30.7	44.3
9. In a marriage, it is just as much a man's responsibility as its a woman's, to care for children.	21.6	47.2	31.2
TOTAL	24.0	5.6	70.4

TABLE 4

TABLE 4 IS NOT MISSING;

THERE WAS AN ERROR IN NUMBERING THE TABLES.

and coming to the defence of their wife/girfriend. Among husbands there is also a statistically significant effect on the issue of sports as a measure of masculinity and on the importance of ambition. Close scrutiny of the age effect reveals that among husbands there is a sharp drop in endorsement of these issues among those over 50. For many of the issues there is little difference between the under 30 and the 30 to 50 year group. In several instances the 30 to 50 year olds endorse the feminine point of view somewhat more than those under 30. This suggests that the traditional male attitudes have softened. More importantly, it suggests that the women's movement will not make further inroads in the future. Stating it more cautiously, it suggests that young males are not particularly sympathetic to feminine values. This conclusion is consistent with the findings of Fasteau (1974) and Sawyer(1976). They found that even younger men endorsed the social use of violence, felt the male should be the primary income producer, and resisted taking greater responsibility for child care. Among wives, the break at age 50 is not as sharp. On the whole, the under 30 group endorses the feminine orientation the most; the over 50 the least, and the 30 to 50 group are in-between.

The effects of four components of social class--education, income, occupation and subjective class identification--were assessed through a series of one-way analyses of variance. The main findings can be summarized as follows: First, for every item, the more educated the husband the more the feminine

orientations were endorsed, both by the husbands and the wives. Similarly for the wife's education. Second, the strongest impact of education is wife's education on her own endorsement. On seven of the nine items, there was a statistically significant effect. The weakest impact was husband's education on his own endorsement. Here only two of the nine items were statistically significant, with an additional two bordering on significance. Third, two of the items did not approach significance in any of the four comparisons. One is the issue of whether a husband has a responsibility to care for the children. As stated previously, there is little variance on this issue since it is strongly endorsed by most husbands and wives. The other is whether men shouldn't be ashamed of crying. Although the variance on this issue is quite high, education has little effect on endorsement of this point of view. Fourth, the two items which consistently were most strongly related to education were coming to the defence of wife/girlfriend and husband being the breadwinner. To summarize, the educated wife is at the vanguard on each of these issues, and the minimally educated husband is at the rear.

Occupational effects are not very strong. The general trend, albeit a weak one, is that the unskilled and semi-skilled endorse the feminine orientations the least while those who are supervisors, middle management, technicians and semi-professionals the most. In other words, support for feminine values drops somewhat among professional and

upper-level management.

Neither husband's income nor total family income is significantly related to these attitudes. Among husbands, there is some indication of a curvilinear relationship with family income: males whose family income exceeded $40,000 tended to give less support to feminine orientations than those whose income was $25,000 to $40,000. Husbands where total family income was less than $20,000 were least supportive.

The fourth measure, subjective social class, also shows a curvilinear tendency. Those husbands who identified with the working class are least supportive. The lower middle class frequently endorsed these issues the most with a slight tendency for the middle class and upper middle class to give less support. Subjective social class had no significant impact on the attitudes of the wives. The failure of social class variables other than wife's education to affect these attitudes significantly may be due to the weak class consciousness exhibited by these respondents (16% felt there was no such thing as classes and a vast majority of the remainder identified with the middle classes).

The final background variable to be considered is the wife's employment status. Wife's employment status has a consistent effect on the attitudes of both husbands and wives. On eight of the nine issues, the employed wife endorses a feminine orientation more than the non-employed wife. Similarly on all issues save one the husband of an employed wife endorses

a feminine orientation more than the husband of a non-employed wife. In short. wife's employment is significantly related to her orientation. Furthermore, it is also related to his orientation, although not as strongly. to hers.

It would be premature to consider these effects to be causal ones, since employment status of wife is likely to be related to other background variables such as age and education of both partners. We shall examine the "unique" effects of employment and other background variables later in the next section.

The spousal impact proposition

This hypothesis asserts that husbands and wives influence each other's orientations. The entries in the diagonal of Table 1 are the zero-order Pearson correlation coefficients between the husband's response and the wife's response to each of the nine issues. These correlations range from .19 to .42 indicating a moderate congruence between husband's and wife's points of view. Note that the magnitude of these coefficients is unaffected by systematic gender differences. That is, if husband's point of view is consistently lower than wife's, the correlation is the same as when there is no systematic difference. What these coefficients do tell us is that wives who endorse these positions tend to be married to husbands who are more likely to endorse these positions than husbands married to wives who do not endorse these positions.

Although the correlations are only moderate for the individual items, the correlation between the scale scores of husbands and wives is quite large, .50, when it is recalled that the reliabilities of these scale scores is only moderate[3]. The fact that the correlation between the scale scores is significantly higher than that between the individual items suggests that it is fruitful to consider these issues as forming a global orientation.

In order to examine the unique effects of the background variables, as well as to examine more closely the impact one partner has on the other's attitudes, several multiple regression analyses were performed. The initial intent was to enter all of one partner's background variables first. This would summarize how the "past" shaped that person's attitudes. Then the spouse's background characteristics were to be entered. This would summarize how the characteristics of one spouse influenced the attitudes of the other. Finally, the attitudes of the spouse were to be added. The latter two entries could be argued to provide a reasonable estimate of the maximum influence one spouse had on the attitudes of the other. To some extent this intent was carried out. Two problems emerged. First, collinearity among the predictor variables muddies the boundaries between the three sets of entries. Secondly, some predictor variables that originally showed statistically significant effects become statistically insignificant when additional predictors are added. This creates some

arbitrariness in deciding whether to include a given variable or not.

With these cautions in mind, let us turn first to husband's attitudes. The results are provided in the top third of Table 5. There was only one background characteristic of the husband (column I) which was statistically significantly related to his endorsement of feminine orientations, namely his age, which accounted for 13.3 percent of the variance. When wife's background characteristics were added to the equation (column II), only one characteristic had a significant impact, namely her education. This factor "explained" an additional 5% of the variance. Because of the fact that the educational level of husband and wife are correlated, husband's education was entered in place of wife's education. The result clearly showed that husband's education does not add a significant amount to the explained variance but wife's education does. Finally, the wife's attitude was added (column III). This adds an additional 10.8% to the explained variance, giving a total adjusted R-squared of .291. However, in this final step, wife's education no longer had a statistically significant impact, although it remained close to significant ($p<.10$).

Turning to the wife's attitudes, three of her background characteristics had a significant impact on her endorsement of feminine orientations (Table 6). These are, in order of importance, her education, "her" age, and her employment status.[4] These three variables accounted for 23.1% of the

Table 5: Standardized regression coefficients (dependent variable is husband's sex-role attitudes) by occupational status.

	I	II	III
TOTAL SAMPLE (N = 153)			
Age	-.37***	-.28***	-.19*
Wife's Education	-	.25**	.13
Wife's attitude	-	-	.38***
Adjusted R-square	.133	.183	.291
HI OCCUPATION (N = 74)			
Age	-.42***	-.38***	-.22*
Wife's Education	-	.14	.00
Wife's Attitude	-	-	.56***
Adjusted R-square	.167	.174	.428
LO OCCUPATION (N = 78)			
Age	-.33**	-.22	-.18
Wife's Education	-	.29*	.21
Wife's Attitude	-	-	.21
Adjusted R-square	.100	.160	.185

* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$
*** $p < .001$

Table 6: Standardized regression coefficients (dependent variable is wife's sex-role attitudes) by husband's occupational status.

	I	II
TOTAL SAMPLE (N = 153)		
Age	-.18*	-.10
Education.	.32***	.23**
Employment Status	.16*	.13
Husband's Attitude	-	.35***
Adjusted R-square	.231	.328
HI OCCUPATION (N = 74)		
Age	-.21	-.05
Education	.25*	.18
Employment Status	.18	.02
Husband's Attitude	-	.56***
Adjusted R-square	.169	.412
LO OCCUPATION (N = 78)		
Age	-.18	-.13
Education	.33**	.26**
Employment Status	.17	.19
Husband's Attitude	-	.21
Adjusted R-square	.233	.262

* p < .05
** p < .01
*** p < .001

variance (Column I). None of his characteristics had any additional significant impact. When his attitudes are entered (column II), an additional 9.7% of the variance is explained, for a total adjusted R-squared of .328. In addition, age no longer has a significant effect ($p > .20$) and employment status is marginally significant ($p = .06$).

The social class moderator proposition

Finally, previous work in family sociology suggests that there is a different style of marriage in middle class families as compared to working class families ( ). The main difference is that middle class marriages emphasize companionship more. This emphasis on companionship should manifest itself in greater husband-wife communication and consequently a greater influence on each others attitudes and values.

To test this, the couples were divided into two subsets on the basis of the husband's occupation. Occupation was used as a measure of social class which would most likely capture differences in marriage style. Subjective class identification might be considered a better indicator of this, except for the fact that in this sample class identification was weak. In order that the two groups be of approximately equal size, the high status group corresponds to occupations ranging from foremen to self-employed professionals on the Pineo et. al.(1977) occupation codes. All other occupations were coded as low status. The results are summarized in the bottom two-thirds

of Tables 5 and 6. These tables strongly support the hypothesis that husbands and wives in high status occupations influence each other's orientations to a significantly greater degreee than spouses in low status occupations do. In the latter subsample, neither husband nor wife influence each other to a statistically significant extent. The standardized slope in both instances equals .21. On the other hand, the slope for spouse's influence is .56 for both husbands and wives among high status occupations. These slopes are very significant ($p < .001$). Note also that the wife's employment status and education appears to have a greater effect on the low-status wife's attitudes. Similarly, her education appears to have a greater efect on her husband's attitudes. With the reduced sample sizes, these differences are not statistically significant, although the magnitude of the slopes indicates they are potentially important interaction effects.

There is a plausible alternative interpretation to the above findings which must be considered carefully. The general pattern of spouse's attitude having lesser influence in working class marriages than in middle class ones is precisely what one would expect if the issues on male behavior did not form as cohesive an orientation among the working class as among the middle class. Such lack of cohesion would manifest itself as greater measurement error among working class respondents. As is well known, the greater the measurement error in any variable, the less effect that variable will appear to have.

This is due to greater regression towards the mean with increased measurement error. One simple test of this alternative interpretation is to compute the internal consistency reliabilities separately for working class and middle class respondents. This was done, providing mixed evidence for the "measurement error" hypothesis. Cronbach's alpha was .59 and .77 for working class husbands and wives respectively, while for their middle class counterparts it was .69 and .71. Thus, consistent with the measurement error hypothesis, these male role issues were least internally consistent for working class husbands. On the other hand, and inconsistent with the measurement error hypothesis, these issues formed the most cohesive orientation among working class wives.

The fact that these issues were most cohesive for the working class wives permits a second test between the "spousal impact" and the "measurement error" explanations. Since measurement error was no greater among working class wives than among either middle class husbands or wives, her impact on her husband's responses to the individual items should be about the same as that of middle class husbands and wives on each other. A comparison of column one with columns three and four in Table 6 shows that is not in fact the case. The working class wife's impact on her husband's responses is consistently lower. This suggests that the spousal impact interpretation is indeed the more valid one.

In Table 7, the interaction effect between spouse's

influence and occupational status is incorporated directly into the multiple regression equation through the use of an occupational dummy variable. Column I gives the social determinants effects. In column II, spouse's attitudes and the occupational interaction effect are added in the manner recommended by Gujarati (1970). Where husband's sex role attitudes are the dependent variable (top half of Table 7), the findings are clear on the following points: (1) spouse's impact is significantly greater in middle class families than in working class families. The standardized slope is .22 for the latter but .82 (.22 + .60) for the former. (2) When all important variables are included, middle class husbands endorse feminine positions significantly more than working class husbands do. The slope for the occupational dummy variable is in fact the differential Y-intercept for the middle class husbands. This effect is estimated to be .70 standard deviations. The picture for the wife's attitudes is less clear. Both the differential slope and Y-intercept are similar to those found for husbands, but not as strong. Neither reach statistical significance. This is probably due to the fact that spouse's education and employment status also tend to interact with occupation as can be seen in Tables 5 and 6. Both of these factors are stronger for the working class subsample than for the middle class one. In addition, the standard error of estimate for the slopes of both the occupational dummy and the interaction effect are greater in the equation for husbands than

Table 7: Standardized regression coefficients for background characteristics, spouse's attitudes and the interaction between occupational status and spouse's attitudes.

	I	II
DEPENDENT VARIABLE: Husband's Attitude		
Age	-.27***	-.18*
Wife's Education	.25**	.11
Occupation[1]	-	.70**
Wife's Attitude	-	.22*
Occupation X Wife's Attitude	-	.60**
Adjusted R-squared	.166	.322
DEPENDENT VARIABLE: Wife's Attitude		
Age	-.18*	-.09
Education	.28***	.21**
Employment Status	.21**	.17*
Occupation[1]	-	.39
Husband's Attitude	-	.26*
Occupation X Husband's Attitude	-	.43
Adjusted R-squared	.226	.334

[1] Occupation is a dummy variable with 0 = low status, 1 = high.

* p < .05.
** p < .01
*** p < .001

in wives. This is a reflection of the lower reliability found in working class husband's attitudes mentioned previously.

Conclusion

The main conclusions that can be drawn from this paper are:

1. Attitudes towards male sex role behaviors are moderately connected, with a traditional masculine and a feminine pole.
2. Both husbands and wives tend to endorse the feminine viewpoint. However, there continues to be a consistent gender difference on these orientations with husbands endorsing the feminine viewpoint less.
3. Among husbands, age is the strongest social background factor associated with these sex role attitudes, with the oldest retaining the traditional masculine viewpoint. At the same time, young married males appear to resist taking on greater feminine sex role orientations.
4. Among wives, the educated and the paid employed endorse the feminine orientation the most. The effect of education and paid employment appears somewhat stronger among working class wives.
5. Husbands and wives mutually influence each other's sex role attitudes. This effect is in general a powerful one.
6. Middle class husbands and wives influence each other to a greater extent than working class spouses do.

Three areas in particular need to be addressed in future studies. First, the measurement of male sex role behaviors

needs to be refined. The analysis reported in this paper indicated that these attitudes are likely to be multi-dimensional. Secondly, the effect of age on male attitudes requires closer scrutiny. This study suggests that young married males resist becoming more androgynous. Longitudinal data on parent-child socialization is required. Thirdly, the dynamics of husband-wife interaction resulting in lower mutual influence in working class marriages remains a conjecture. Measures of "style of marriage" and its relation to social class could then be explored.

Notes

[1] Information on sampling design and related methodological considerations can be obtained from the Population Research Laboratory, Department of Sociology, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada.

[2] These tables are available upon request from Victor Thiessen.

[3] If one were to correct for attenuation due to unreliability, the correlation of the scale scores would be approximately .72. This suggests that husbands and wives may indeed have a substantial effect on each other's points of view.

[4] Age is a problematic variable. In this study wife's age was not recorded. However, in comparable studies age of husband and wife are so highly correlated (Pearson r in the vicinity of .9) that almost identical results would have been obtained if wife's age had been ascertained and utilized.

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